

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PRS-01 TRSE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5046

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 01481

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER F.), PFOR, EFIN, GW
SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT - CHANCELLOR DISCUSSIONS:
EXPANDED SESSION, AFTERNOON OF JANUARY 25, 1977

1. AFTER 2 HOUR PRIVATE SESSION BY THE VICE PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, THEY JOINED THEIR DELEGATIONS FOR CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSIONS. SCHMIDT MADE WARM WELCOMING STATEMENT EXPRESSING DEEP APPRECIATION TO PRESIDENT CARTER FOR SENDING THE VICE PRESIDENT TO THE FRG SO SOON AFTER THE INAUGURATION TO UNDERTAKE INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS. VICE PRESIDENT IN RESPONSE REVIEWED IMPORTANCE PRESIDENT CARTER ATTACHED TO HIS EARLY VISIT TO EUROPE AND HIS CONSULTATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES HE WOULD BE VISITING. HE STRESSED THAT THE FRG AND THE U.S. OCCUPY KEY POSITIONS IN THE WORLD ECONOMY AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. THE U.S. CANNOT BE EFFECTIVE OPERATING IN ISOLATION AND IT IS ONLY BY MUTUAL EFFORT THAT SUCCESS CAN BE OBTAINED.

2. AT SCHMIDT'S INVITATION, THE VICE PRESIDENT OUT-
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LINED BASIC ELEMENTS OF U.S. ECONOMIC STIMULATION PACKAGE PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT CARTER. THIS IS INTENDED TO INCREASE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN OUR OWN COUNTRY AND ALSO TO ASSIST OTHER COUNTRIES IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS OF INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT. IN THIS EFFORT, THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF MTN IS ALSO IMPORTANT. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID WE WISH TO

HELP STRENGTHEN THE STABILITY OF OTHER COUNTRIES
AND TO DO THIS IN COOPERATION WITH THE FRG AND JAPAN.
WE HOPE THAT THE FRG ALSO WILL FOLLOW A POLICY OF
PRUDENT STIMULATION OF ITS ECONOMY AND THAT OTHER
COUNTRIES WILL SEE THAT THE U.S., THE FRG AND JAPAN
ARE MAKING A JOINT EFFORT.

3. CONTINUING, THE VICE PRESIDENT NOTED THAT THE
OPEC COUNTRIES HAVE ACCUMULATED RESERVES OF 45 BILLION
DOLLARS. WAYS MUST BE FOUND TO DEAL WITH THIS
PROBLEM. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE U.S.
STIMULATION PROGRAM WILL AMOUNT TO ONE PERCENT OF
OUR GNP IN 1977. THE JAPANESE PROGRAM WILL PROBABLY
BE OF SIMILAR MAGNITUDE. WE HOPE THAT THE GERMAN
PROGRAM ANNOUNCED IN GENERAL TERMS JANUARY 21 WILL
BE COMPARABLE IN SCOPE.

4. IN RESPONSE, THE CHANCELLOR SUMMARIZED THE
STATEMENT HE HAD MADE IN THE BUNDESTAG JANUARY 21,
REITERATING HIS INTENTION TO LAUNCH A PROGRAM TO
DEVELOP FRG INFRASTRUCTURE. THE SUCCESS OF THE
PROGRAM, WHICH WILL EXTEND OVER SEVERAL YEARS, WILL
DEPEND ON THE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS OF THE U.S., THE
FRG AND JAPAN. THE CHANCELLOR ALSO MENTIONED THAT
IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO INVOLVE THE DUTCH IN THIS
EFFORT. (THE VICE PRESIDENT NOTED THAT WE HAD
ALREADY SPOKEN TO THE DUTCH IN THIS REGARD.)

5. THE CHANCELLOR SPOKE OF THE NECESSITY OF OBTAINING
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FINANCING FOR THE FRG PROGRAM AND OF GETTING THE
SUPPORT OF THE LAENDER IN THE FRG. HE MENTIONED
THAT THE FRG FEDERAL BUDGET COVERS ONLY ONE-THIRD
OF THE TOTAL OF THE FRG NATIONAL BUDGET, WITH THE
REMAINDER REPRESENTED BY EXPENDITURES IN THE LAENDER.

6. THE CHANCELLOR STATED THAT HE AND THE VICE
PRESIDENT HAD TALKED ABOUT PLANS FOR A SUMMIT MEETING
AND THAT NO IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION
HAD ARISEN. HE STRESSED THAT THE SUMMIT SHOULD BE
CAREFULLY PREPARED FROM BOTH THE ECONOMIC AND
POLITICAL STANDPOINT. HE THEN ASKED OTHER MINISTERS
TO SPEAK ABOUT THE FRG FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC
SITUATION.

7. MINISTER OF ECONOMICS FRIDERICHSAID THE PRESENT
FRG UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS ABOUT 4.6 PERCENT. AT THE

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SAME TIME, PRODUCTIVITY HAS IMPROVED AND FRG EXPORTS HAVE BEEN RISING. AT THE SAME TIME, FRG IMPORTS HAVE INCREASED, SO THERE HAS BEEN A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. REAL GROWTH IN 1977 IS PROJECTED AT 5 PERCENT WITH A PRICE INCREASE OF 4 PERCENT OR LESS. UNEMPLOYMENT WILL DECREASE TO JUST BELOW 4 PERCENT. THESE PROJECTIONS ASSUME THAT WORLD TRADE WILL GROW IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE OECD ESTIMATES AND THE FRG SHARE WILL GROW MORE THAN PROPORTIONATELY BECAUSE OF FRG PREPONDERANCE IN HEAVY MACHINERY EXPORTS. OF COURSE, THE SITUATION COULD BE AFFECTED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN ITALY AND FRANCE; IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT HOW THEIR PROBLEMS WILL WORK OUT. ALSO INCLUDED IN THE FRG ASSUMPTIONS IS THE CONTINUITY OF RELATIVELY STABLE OPEC OIL PRICES. HERE FRIDERICHS NOTED THAT THE FRG IMPORTS 55 PERCENT OF ITS ENERGY NEEDS; OVER 90 PERCENT OF THE OIL REQUIREMENTS OF THE FRG ARE IMPORTED.

8. FINANCE MINISTER APEL THEN TOOK THE FLOOR. HE SPOKE FIRST OF THE EUROPEAN DIMENSIONS OF THE ECONOMIC PICTURE, STRESSING THAT THE FRG IS DEPENDENT ON ITS NEIGHBORS; IF THEY GET INTO DIFFICULTIES, THEN THE
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FRG DOES AS WELL. THEREFORE, THE FRG STANDS READY TO HELP ITS NEIGHBORS, IN PARTICULAR THE UK AND ITALY. HELP IS EXTENDED, HOWEVER, ON THE BASIS THAT THEY HELP THEMSELVES. IN THE SAME SPIRIT, THE FRG SUPPORTS THE ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. APEL REMARKED THAT THERE ARE LIMITS TO THE POSSIBILITIES AVAILABLE TO A SMALL STATE, AND HE SAID THAT THE FRG IS SMALL IN SOME RESPECTS.

9. APEL NEXT SPOKE OF THE ROLE OF THE CENTRAL BANKS, NOTING THAT BOTH THE U.S. AND FRG HAVE INDEPENDENT INSTITUTIONS. THE PLAN IS TO INCREASE MONEY SUPPLY BY 8 PERCENT ANNUALLY, BUT THERE ARE LIMITS TO THE EXTENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT. INTEREST RATES PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE AND IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP THEM LOW SINCE HIGH INTEREST RATES RAISE COSTS. APEL ALSO STRESSED THE ROLE OF THE LAENDER IN FINANCING PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMS, NOTING THAT, WHILE THE FRG GOVERNMENT IS SPD/FDP, THE MAJORITY OF THE LAENDER ARE CONTROLLED BY THE CDU.

10. APEL STRESSED THAT THE IMPORTANT THING IN A STIMULATION PROGRAM IS THAT IT BE STARTED QUICKLY AND RESULTS OBTAINED IN THE NEAR FUTURE, NOT IN 1979 OR 1980. IT WAS ALSO IMPORTANT TO FIGHT PROTECTIONIST TRENDS AND TO DEFEAT BEGGAR-THY-NEIGHBOR POLICIES. APEL REMARKED THAT ONE ASPECT OF JAPANESE COMPETITION CAUSES CONCERN, NAMELY THE FACT THAT 95 PERCENT OF NEW ORDERS FOR SHIP CONSTRUCTION IN THE WORLD MARKET GO TO JAPAN. THIS CREATES PROBLEMS AND IT IS SOMETHING THAT WE SHOULD DISCUSS WITH THE JAPANESE AT A SUMMIT MEETING.

11. AT THE VICE PRESIDENT'S INVITATION, UNDER SECRETARY COOPER COMMENTED ON THE PRESENTATION BY THE FRG SIDE. HE STRESSED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO
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MAINTAIN A WORLD PERSPECTIVE, AS EMPHASIZED BY THE FRG. HE NOTED THAT THERE IS A GREAT AMOUNT OF UNUSED INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD WHILE THE LDCS CALL FOR GREATER EXPENDITURES. SOMEHOW, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO FIT UNDERUTILIZED CAPACITIES WITH THE NEEDS OF THE LDCS AND THE UNSATISFIED SOCIAL NEEDS IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

12. COOPER SAID THAT MANY OF OUR PROBLEMS WITH THE JAPANESE AND WITH THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE ARE CONDITIONED BY THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT. IF THIS

BECOMES MORE BOUYANT, THEN THESE PROBLEMS COULD BE EASED. IF THE CONTRARY OCCURS, THERE COULD BE A MOVE TOWARD DEFLATION AND PROTECTIONISM.

13. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT INTERVENED TO ASK IF OUR STAND AGAINST PROTECTIONISM APPLIED ALSO TO AGRICULTURE. HE SAID HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION EXISTING BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN THIS AREA. THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT THE U.S. HAS TAKEN A TOUGH LINE IN THE MTN ON THIS ISSUE. MTN CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL IF ALL NATIONS TAKE A FORTH-COMING LINE ON AGRICULTURE. THE U.S. WILL TAKE A NEW LOOK AT THIS PROBLEM WITH THE HOPE OF BREAKING

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THE IMPASSE.

14. COOPER ALSO THOUGHT WE SHOULD LOOK AT THE SITUATION OF SEMI-INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, SUCH AS BRAZIL, MEXICO AND TURKEY. THE U.S. IS WORKING TO AVOID DEFLATION AND LESS LIBERAL POLICIES THERE. THE NEW U.S. PROGRAM IS INSUFFICIENT TO STIMULATE THE WORLD ECONOMY AND WE WILL NEED HELP FROM THE FRG AND JAPAN. COOPER AGREED WITH APEL THAT STIMULATION IS NEEDED IN 1977; OUR PROGRAM IS DESIGNED TO TAPER OFF IN 1978-79.

15. INFLATIONARY RESULTS FROM OUR PROGRAM, COOPER

SAID, WOULD BE ZERO. THE EXPANSIONARY EFFECT ADDS TWO-TENTHS OF ONE PERCENT BUT THE REDUCTION IN PAYROLL TAXES WILL OFFSET THIS. FURTHERMORE, THERE IS SUFFICIENT UNDERUTILIZED CAPACITY SO THAT THE INFLATIONARY EFFECT WILL BE NEGLIGIBLE. COOPER SAID THAT PLANT AND EQUIPMENT INVESTMENT IS LOW BUT THAT IT COULD RISE RAPIDLY IF THE RECOVERY IN DEMAND WERE MORE VIGOROUS. WE WILL REVIEW OUR PROGRAM IN THE FALL TO SEE IF SOMETHING MORE IS NEEDED.

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16. COOPER REFERRED TO THE OPEC SURPLUS OF \$45 BILLION AND THE DEFICITS EXISTING IN THE LDCS. HE FELT WE SHOULD TRY TO WORK OUT A SHARING OF THE DEFICITS AND DEVELOP A PROGRAM OF GLOBAL CONSISTENCY.

17. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM SCHMIDT, COOPER SAID THAT U.S. REAL GNP FROM FOURTH QUARTER 1976 TO FOURTH QUARTER 1977 IS ESTIMATED AT SIX PERCENT WITH THE STIMULATION PACKAGE. WE FORESEE A DECLINE OF ABOUT ONE PERCENT IN UNEMPLOYMENT TO 6.9 PERCENT. A 5.5 PERCENT GROWTH IN REAL TERMS IS OUR TARGET FOR 1978, BUT THIS DEPENDS ON WORLD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

18. ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERGSTEN EMPHASIZED THAT THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICITS IMPOSED BY OPEC ON THE REST OF THE WORLD HAD TO BE SHARED. THE FOUR OR FIVE STRONGER ECONOMIES HAD TO TAKE THEIR SHARE OF THAT DEFICIT, RATHER THAN RUNNING CURRENT ACCOUNT SURPLUSES. FOR ITS PART, THE U.S. HAD ACCEPTED A SIZABLE SWING INTO DEFICIT IN 1976 AND 1977. IN ADDITION, WE SHOULD FIND WAYS TO CHANNEL THE SURPLUS OF THE OPEC COUNTRIES TO THE DEFICIT COUNTRIES; PERHAPS NEW INSTITUTIONAL METHODS SHOULD BE EXPLORED IN ORDER TO PROMOTE FINANCIAL STABILITY.

19. SCHMIDT SAID HE WAS IMPRESSED BY THE FACT THAT OUR PROGRAM CALLED FOR A STIMULATION PROGRAM AMOUNTING TO ONE PERCENT OF THE U.S. GNP. HOWEVER, HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THIS COULD BE FINANCED WITHOUT USING THE CENTRAL BANK INSTRUMENTALITY OR WITHOUT PUSHING INFLATION UP. HE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD TRY TO CHANNEL THE SURPLUS OF THE OPEC COUNTRIES TO OTHER COUNTRIES IN NEED. HE LIKED BERGSTEN'S SUGGESTION ABOUT NEW INSTITUTIONAL CHANNELS TO ACCOMPLISH THIS. IN THIS REGARD, HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANT ROLE THE IMF COULD PLAY.

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20. SCHMIDT STRESSED HIS VIEW THAT BILATERAL AID BY THE FRG TO ANOTHER COUNTRY WOULD BE A MISTAKE, RECALLING THE FRG EXPERIENCE WITH ITALY. IT WAS BETTER TO HANDLE THESE MATTERS THROUGH THE IMF. THE FRG HAS BEEN GENEROUS IN ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE IMF AND WILL CONTINUE IN THIS SPIRIT.

21. COOPER THEN EXPLAINED THE OPERATION OF OUR FEDERAL RESERVE BANK WITH REGARD TO MONEY SUPPLY. COOPER SAID WE DO NOT EXPECT OUR DEFICIT TO CONTRIBUTE TO INFLATION. IN RESPONSE TO A FURTHER QUESTION FROM SCHMIDT, HE DISCUSSED THE STATUS OF INTEREST RATES IN THE U.S.

22. COOPER SAID THAT WE SHARED SCHMIDT'S VIEWS ABOUT THE ADVISABILITY OF MULTILATERAL LOANS, ALTHOUGH SOME EXCEPTIONS MIGHT BE ENVISAGED, I.E., FOR PORTUGAL. HERE, THE IMF COULD BE USED TO MANAGE A LOAN FUNDED FROM OUTSIDE. SCHMIDT AGREED AND REVIEWED FRG EFFORTS TO HELP PORTUGAL. HE SPOKE FAVORABLY OF SOARES AS A MAN WHO COULD HELP PORTUGAL IN ITS PRESENT SITUATION.

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23. SCHMIDT THEN DISCUSSED HIS RECENT TALKS WITH SPANISH LEADERS AND EMPHASIZED HIS VERY FAVORABLE IMPRESSION OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IS SEVERE BUT NOT AS BAD AS PORTUGAL. HE ANTICIPATED THAT POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD BE LEGALIZED IN A FEW MONTHS, INCLUDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY. SPAIN LACKS A LABOR ORGANIZATION AND AN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION AS WELL AS A NORMAL STRUCTURE OF ECONOMY. HE SAID FRG TRADE UNIONS HAVE HELPED SPAIN QUIETLY AND SUGGESTED THAT U.S. TRADE UNIONS COULD DO THE SAME. HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT SOME INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF SPAIN'S PROGRESS WOULD BE USEFUL.

24. AFTER THE VICE PRESIDENT OUTLINED OUR FAVORABLE VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN AND THE POSSIBILITY OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO AT SOME FUTURE DATE, SCHMIDT NOTED THAT THERE WERE STILL ANTI-SPANISH FEELINGS IN SOME NATO COUNTRIES WHICH COULD AFFECT SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO. ONCE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN SPAIN HAS BEEN COMPLETED, THEN MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE POSSIBLE. SCHMIDT ALSO ALLUDED TO PROBLEMS
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SOME OTHER COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY FRANCE, HAVE WITH THE PROSPECTIVE MEMBERSHIP OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN THE EC. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THE LATTER IS A QUESTION FOR THE EC TO DECIDE; SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE U.S. IF IT IS ACCEPTABLE TO OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE.

25. THE VICE PRESIDENT THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TO RESTRAIN ARMS SALES. HE REALIZED, REGRETFULLY, THAT THE U.S. LEADS IN THIS FIELD, BUT WE HOPE DISCUSSIONS CAN BE UNDERTAKEN WITH THE FRG ON THIS SUBJECT. ALSO, HE SAID, PRESIDENT CARTER WISHES TO MAKE THIS POINT STRONGLY WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

26. SCHMIDT REVIEWED THE RESTRICTIVE STANCE OF THE FRG WITH REGARD TO ARMS SALES. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THE JOINT PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE FRG AND FRANCE FOR ARMS PRODUCTION AND SAID THIS IS BEGINNING TO CAUSE GRAVE COMPLICATIONS FOR THE FRG. FRANCE, OF COURSE, IS A LARGE ARMS EXPORTER, WHEREAS THE FRG DOES NOT WANT TO BE ACTIVE IN THIS FIELD. THIS IS A MATTER WHICH HAS IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS AND IS SOMETHING WHICH SCHMIDT

PLANS TO TAKE UP WITH GISCARD AT THEIR NEXT MEETING.
SCHMIDT SAID HE APPRECIATED THE INTEREST OF PRESIDENT
CARTER IN THE MATTER OF ARMS SALES BUT HE WANTED
HIM TO KNOW OF THIS PARTICULAR PROBLEM FOR THE FRG.
HE ALSO WAS FULLY IN ACCORD THAT, IF THE WESTERN
COUNTRIES RESTRAIN THEIR ARMS SALES, THE SOVIETS
MUST ALSO BE BROUGHT UNDER RESTRAINT.

27. THE MEETING TERMINATED AT 5:30 P.M. TO ENABLE
THE PRINCIPALS TO PROCEED TO A PRESS CONFERENCE,
AFTER WHICH THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS TO ATTEND A MEETING
WITH PRESIDENT SCHEEL.

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